

## Message Text

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43

ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2930

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON MEETING FEBRUARY 6 (SALT TWO-896)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING I MADE STATEMENT THAT "IF THE SOVIET SIDE WILL AGREE TO THE SUBSTANCE OF U.S. PROPOSAL" ON HEAVY MISSILE DEFINITION, "I AM PREPARED TO AGREE TO SUBSTANCE OF SOVIET PROPOSAL" ON LAUNCHER VOLUME. IN REFERRING TO OUR PROPOSAL ON HEAVY-MISSILE CAP, I SAID U.S. "CONSIDERS IT ESSENTIAL THAT AN AGREEMENT BE REACHED ON SUCH A CEILING" AND PROPOSED THAT ALL THREE MATTERS BE REFERRED TO DRAFTING GROUP "FOR ANY REFINEMENTS IN LANGUAGE WHICH MAY BE REQUIRED." I THEN TABLED THROW-WEIGHT DEFINITION AND INVITED SOVIET VIEWS ON HOW LAUNCHING WEIGHT MIGHT BEST BE DEFINED.

2. SEMENOV'S STATEMENT SAID THAT HE HAD "BEEN INSTRUCTED" TO TABLE LANGUAGE FOR HEAVY-MISSILE DEFINITION, READING AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE HEAVY ICBMS ARE ANY ICBMS HAVING A LANUCHING WEIGHT OR A THROW-WEIGHT GREATER THAN THAT OF THE LARGEST LIGHT ICBM DEPLOYED BY EITHER PARTY ON THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THIS AGREEMENT. UNQUOTE (IT WILL BE NOTED THAT THIS

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REPRESENTS CHANGE FROM LANGUAGE WHICH HE HAD DISCUSSED IN OUR

PRIVATE CONVERSATION YESTERDAY, AND THIS NEW FORMULA WAS, IN FACT, DELIVERED TO FITZGERALD AT 2245 LAST NIGHT.)

3. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION I POINTED TO MY STATEMENT TODAY PROPOSING RECIPROCAL ACCEPTANCE IN SUBSTANCE OF OUR RESPECTIVE PROPOSALS ON SILO DIMENSIONS AND HEAVY-MISSILE DEFINITION AND EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT HE HAD INSTEAD TABLED COUNTERDRAFT TO OUR HEAVY-MISSILE DEFINITION. I SAID THAT, WHILE HIS COUNTERDRAFT SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT WE WERE CLOSER TO AGREEMENT ON SUBSTANCE THAN I HAD THOUGHT YESTERDAY, SOME OF ITS LANGUAGE WAS AMBIGUOUS AND, PUTTING ASIDE QUESTION OF "NON-HEAVY VERSUS LIGHT," ASKED WHAT PROBLEMS THEY HAD WITH OUR DRAFT THAT THEY WERE SEEKING TO DEAL WITH IN THEIR DRAFT. I SAID THAT AS MATTERS STOOD I SAW NO CHOICE BUT FOR ME TO TABLE AT OUR NEXT MEETING A "COUNTERDRAFT TO THEIR COUNTERDRAFT", BUT HOPED TO FIND SOME WAY OF PUTTING THROUGH THE DIFFICULTIES HIS ACTION HAD CAUSED. IN RESPONSE, HE SAID THAT, LEAVING ASIDE QUESTION OF "NON-HEAVY VERSUS LIGHT," HE AGREED WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL AND PROPOSED THAT MATTER BE TURNED OVER TO DRAFTING GROUP. I PROPOSED, AND HE AGREED, THAT HE WOULD FORMALLY STATE THIS AT NEXT PLENARY.

4. THEN, READING FROM TYPEWRITTEN NOTES, HE SAID THAT WITH RESPECT TO OUR PROPOSAL ON CEILING ON HEAVIES (PARA 7, ARTICLE IV), "SOVIET SIDE ALSO ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION. I BELIEVE THAT IN THE PROCESS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE QUESTION (SILO DIMENSIONS AND HEAVY-MISSILE DEFINITION), IT WAS WITHIN THE AUTHORITY OF BOTH DELEGATIONS TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION HERE IN GENEVA."

5. AT MY INITIATIVE, WE HAD LONG AND WHAT TURNED OUT TO BE INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION OF OUR FORMULA FOR "DEVICES WHICH CAN BE USED FOR LAUNCHING" VERSUS THE SOVIETS' "LAUNCHERS OF" IN PARAS 1 AND 2 OF ARTICLE II, AND AGREED TO RETURN TO SUBJECT.

6. SEMENOV AGAIN WITH ME, AND SOVIETS IN SEVERAL OTHER BILATERALS, HIT HARD AT THE USE OF "NON-HEAVY" VERSUS "LIGHT."

7. IN A CONVERSATION WITH KLOSSON, SHCHUKIN SAID THAT OUR THROW-WEIGHT DEFINITION WAS "EXTRAORDINARILY COMPLICATED" AND  
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WE WERE ONLY MAKING TROUBLE FOR OURSELVES, AS HE DESPAIRED OF THE TASK HE WOULD HAVE "IN TRYING TO EXPLAIN IT TO HIS LEADERSHIP." SHCHUKIN ASKED WHY SUCH A SIMPLE TERM AS "PAYLOAD" COULD NOT BE USED, AND KARPOV SUGGESTED SOMETHING ALONG LINES "EVERYTHING AFTER FINAL BOOSTER STAGE."

8. IN TRUSOV'S CONVERSATION WITH EARLE (AS WELL AS SHCHUKIN'S WITH KOSSON), HE SAID THAT THEY DID NOT CONSIDER THAT LAUNCHER

ASSIST DEVICES WERE INCLUDED IN LAUNCHING WEIGHT. BOTH TRUSOV AND SHCHUKIN SAID THAT THEY FELT TERM LAUNCHING WEIGHT WAS SIMPLY THE WEIGHT OF THE MISSILE "JUST PRIOR TO IGNITION." IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH EARLE, TRUSOV ALSO IMPLIED THAT THEY WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IN DISCUSSION OF HEAVY-MISSILE CEILING.

9. CHULITSKY TOLD FITZGERALD THAT SEMENOV INTENDS TO RETURN TO MOSCOW FOR SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS, BUT THEY ARE NOT PROPOSING RECESS AND KARPOV WILL BE IN CHARGE OF SOVIET DELEGATION.

10. THERE WILL BE NO HIGHLIGHTS CABLE THIS MEETING.

11. NEXT MEETING SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 10, US MISSION. JOHNSON

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